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SKY-GOD PERSONATIONS IN HOPI WORSHIP.

It has been shown in a previous article¹ that the Hopi Indians personate in their worship the spirit ancients of their clans, by masked men wearing totemic designs characteristic of those clans. They also represent them by graven images and figures with like symbolism. The spirits of the ancients, their personations by men, the festivals in which these personators appear, and their representation by images and figures, are called *Katcinas*. The power which is personated objectively, or that which we call the spirit, is the magic potentiality² conceived of as an anima or invisible aerial or breath body. The objective cultus of *Katcinas* is made up of representations of these animas (breath bodies) of clan-ancients by masked men, by images, by pictures, and ceremonial dramas.

In certain elaborate festivals these Indians also personate other beings besides clan-ancients, prominent among which may be mentioned the Sky-god. It is the author's purpose, in this article, to consider at length the objective symbolism and acts of this personator in certain festivals. The distinction between the terms, Sky-god and Sun-god, is verbal, not real, for the sun is the shield or mask, a visible symbol of the magic power of the Sky-god conceived of as an anthropomorphic being. Both these names are used interchangeably in the following pages.

In a study of the different personations of gods in the drama of a primitive people it is oftentimes difficult to discover their identities, since they bear many attributal or descriptive names. These names differ widely, and this multiform nomenclature has introduced so much confusion that priests themselves have lost the knowledge of the gods to whom they were originally applied. Minor differences in the paraphernalia of the personator, resulting from additions or syncopations, have obscured the original objective symbolism, thus giving a new name and making it difficult to recognize the old.

¹ *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, April-June, 1901.

² Since this article was written, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt has suggested the Iroquois word *Orenda* as the name of this power. As almost every native language has a different word for it, the choice of the Iroquoian might seem arbitrary, and it may appear that the English designation "magic power" is adequate. Mr. Hewitt has shown that the English term does not exactly convey the meaning of *Orenda*, nor does it mean what other Indians have in mind when they use the special word in their languages, as *wakan* and the like. We need a word which means something for which there is no English term. Mr. Hewitt has defined more accurately than his contemporaries that something for which ethnologists need a word, and suggests a term, which is euphonious, brief, and easily pronounced. No word has a better claim for universal adoption.

Nomenclature in mythology is in a state of continual flux, the gods being regarded in a different light and given new names as man progresses in culture, or as clans with somewhat different ideas of their nature are brought into close contact with each other. Native names thus often lead one astray who attempts to discover by this means the original nature of the gods to which they are applied. In this article the author uses similarity of symbols as a means of identification, a method believed to be reliable when names are insufficient. For example, there are two personifications, called respectively "Ancient Being"¹ and "Great-Above-One,"² which would appear to designate different gods, but when one examines the symbolic paraphernalia of both the similarity in their symbols is so close that they may logically be considered the same and the minor differences in symbols may be regarded as secondary growths. By making use of the method of morphological similarities in symbolism,³ we thus can detect the Sky-god under several aliases.

In order to obtain a clear idea of the nature of Sky-god personations among the Hopi let us first describe those of the so-called Katcina clan, to be followed by a consideration of the modifications which appear among other clans.

The two most important festivals of this clan at Walpi celebrate the advent and exit of personations of its clan-ancients. In one, the arrival, and in the other, their departure, are represented by men who personate these beings. They are supposed to enter the pueblo in February, an event dramatized in the festival called Powamû; to leave the pueblo, or go home, in July, and the representation of that event is called the Niman. In the intervening months the clan ancients are supposed to remain in the village or its neighborhood, publicly appearing from time to time in the pueblo in masked dances lasting a single day.

While these dramatizations of advent and departure are festivals of one clan, the actors are not restricted to this clan. Several others combine with it and personate their ancients, so that it has come about that while in the main these two great festivals are controlled by one clan, whose chief is chief of the festivals, fragments of dramatizations by other clans survive in them, and personations of many clan ancients unconnected with the leading clan likewise appear. With all these additions, however, the main events are distinctly those of one clan or group of clans.

When the advent and departure of the ancients are dramatized a

¹ Wüwüyomo.

² Wupamow.

³ The author recognizes no psychological line of demarcation between symbols and personations so far as intention goes, although the latter term may be limited to living actors.

being is personated who leads them into the pueblo, and another who conducts them from it to their home, the underworld. The former leader represents the Sky-god as a Sun-god; the latter the same god, ruler of the realm of the dead, and god of germs.

DRAMATIZATION OF THE RETURN OF SUN-GOD IN POWAMÛ.

The Sun-god of the Katcina clans, the advent of whom is celebrated at the Powamû festival, is generally called Ahûla, the returning one, although sometimes called the "Old-Man-Sun."

The author witnessed the public dramatization of the return of this god on the morning of February 3d, the opening day of the festival, at Walpi, in 1900. As this dramatization is a type of other presentations a somewhat detailed description of his dress and symbolism, with an account of the acts performed, is appended. Like most dramatizations the ceremony has two parts, a secret¹ and a public exhibition.

The accompanying plate represents this personator descending the stone steps of the second story of a Walpi house, as recorded in the following pages. The figure is a striking one, the reproduction of which would have gained much were the colors represented, but the photographs, which have been carefully and artistically copied by Mrs. Gill, show the most striking features of the symbols on the mask and headdress. The man wears a mask which has a circular or disk form, with periphery bounded by a plaited corn-husk in which are inserted eagle-wing feathers, and a fringe of red horsehair representing sun's rays. The upper part of the face is divided into two quadrants, one of which is yellow; the other green, both decorated with black crosses. The middle is occupied by a triangular figure, and the chin, here hidden by a foxskin, tied about the neck, is black in color. A curved beak² projects from one angle of the triangular symbol in the middle of the face.

The clothing consists of two white cotton ceremonial kilts, one tied over the shoulder, and the other around the loins. The leggings are made of an open mesh cloth with a fringe of shell tinklers tied down the side. In his right hand this figure carries a staff, to one end of which two feathers are tied, while midway in its length are attached a small crook, feathers, and an ear of corn. Among many objects carried in the left hand may be mentioned sprouts of beans,³ a slat of wood, a bag of sacred meal, and stringed feathers; the uses

¹ A performance before the initiated in a secret room or kiva.

² From the base of this curved beak hang pendants reminding one of turkey wattles.

³ These bean sprouts have been germinated in the superheated kiva for use in this festival.



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of these will be referred to in an account of the acts of this personage. The most characteristic symbolism, as is always the case, is shown on the face-shield or mask, which resembles somewhat that of the conventional Hopi Sun-disk.

ACTIONS OF THE MAN PERSONATING THE SUN-GOD.

A man who personated the Sun-god donned this characteristic mask and dressed near the sun shrine at Walla, northeast of the pueblos, and after certain preliminaries at this shrine, led by the Katsina chief, proceeded up the trail to the pueblos, first Hano, from which he proceeded to Sichomovi and Walpi, visiting the kivas and houses of all the principal chiefs in these three villages. The acts at each house are substantially identical, so that one description may serve for all, but before giving this account the author has inserted a list of houses visited.

HANOKI.		
Clan.		Owner.
1. Tewa-kiva.		
2. Kolon, Corn.		Nampio.
3. Ke, Bear.		Pobi.
4. Sa, Tobacco.		Anoti.
5. Kisombi-kiva.		
6. Okuwafi, Rain-cloud.		
7. Tañ, Sun.		Kalakwai. ¹
SICHOMOVI.		
Clan.		Owner.
1. Añiwuci's kiva.		
2. Tcoshofiñiwû kiva.		
3. Honani, Badger.		
4. Honani, Badger.		Kelewüqti.
5. Ala, Horn.		Tuwa.
WALPI. ²		
Clan.	Owner.	Tiponi.
Kokop, Firewood.	Koitnaia.	Eototo.
Patki, Rain-cloud.	Koitsanunsi.	
Kokop, Firewood.	Saha.	Masauñ, Tiponi.
Lefiya, Flute.	Sakbensi.	Lefiya, “
Patki, Rain-cloud.	Vensi.	Lakone, “
		Tawa, “
		Soyalufia, “
Asa, Flower.	Wukomana.	Wüwütcim, “
		Tataukyamû, “
Kokop, Firewood.	Nakwaihoñima.	Owakül, “

¹ This house was formerly Kalacai's, at whose death the Tañ, or Sun-clan, became extinct.

² Also the five Walpi kivas. As each chief owns a badge (*tiponi*), the name of this badge is also given.

Clan.	Owner.	Tiponi.	
Tcüa, Snake.	Caliko.	Tcüa,	Tiponi.
		Tcüb,	"
		Tcak,	"
		Marau,	"
Patki, Rain-cloud.	Koitsnumsi.	Lakone,	"
Honau, Bear.	Hoñsi.	Aaltu,	"
Ala, Horn.	Pontima.	Küyi,	"
Kivahu (Pakab).	Nuñci.	Kalektaka,	"
		Owakül,	"
Katcina, Katcina.	Komaletsi.	Katcina,	"
Asa, Flower.	Tuwasmí.	Aaltû,	"
Patki, Rain-cloud.	Naciainimû.	Lakone,	"
Pakab, Reed.	Poñyaniumka.	Sumaikoli,	"
Patki, Rain-cloud.	Nempka.	Lakone,	"

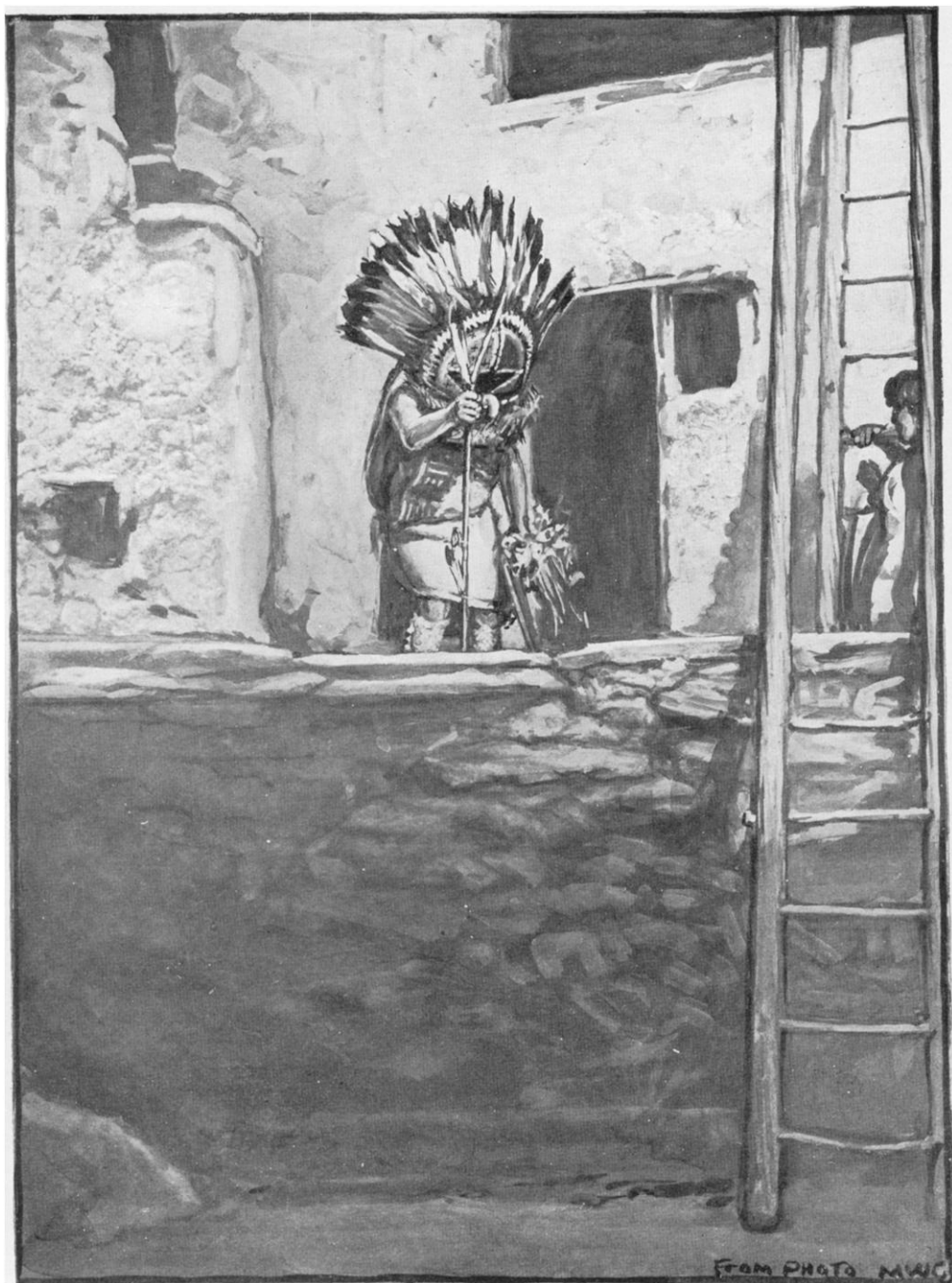
As the personator of the Sun-god walked through the pueblos he imitated the gait and general manner of an old man, using a staff for support as he proceeded from one room to another, and performed the following rites at each kiva. Having approached the hatchway of one of these rooms he leaned down, and drew a vertical mark with sacred-meal on the inside of the entrance, opposite the ladder. Turning to the east he made solemn inclinations of his body, bending backward and bowing forward, uttering at the same time a low, falsetto growl. He then turned to the kiva entrance and made similar obeisances, calling in the same voice; two or three of the principal men responded by coming up the kiva ladder, each bearing a handful of prayer-meal, and a feather-string which he placed in the hand of the Sun-god, at the same time saying a low, inaudible prayer.

At the houses of the chiefs the personator performed similar acts having the same import. Advancing to the doorway, he rubbed a handful of meal on the house wall, at the left of the doorway, making a vertical mark about the height of his chest. He then turned to face the rising sun, and made six silent inclinations of his body, uttering the falsetto calls, holding his staff before him at arm's length, as shown in the plate. Turning again to the doorway he bowed his body four times, and made the same calls.

The chief man or woman emerged from the house and placed in the hand of the personator a handful of prayer-meal and stringed-feather, saying at the same time a low prayer. In return for which the Sun-god handed him a few bean sprouts.

All the prayer offerings which the Sun-god had received in this circuit of the towns were later deposited in a sun-shrine, and the personator returned to the kiva, where he disrobed; the mask was carried to the house of the Katcina chief in whose custody it is kept, and to whom it is said to belong.

The above actions admit of the following explanations: The per-



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sonator of the Sun-god enters the pueblos from the east at or near sunrise, receiving at each house the prayers¹ of the inmates symbolized by the meal which each chief places in his hand, receiving in return sprouted beans symbolically representing the gifts for which they pray. The inclinations and obeisances with the accompanying calls may be theoretically interpreted as signs to his beneficent followers, the clan-ancients, and the bows to the doorways, gestures indicating the houses that he wishes them to enter, bringing blessing. The whole performance is a "prayer by signatures," or a pantomimic representation in which the desires of the Hopi are expressed by symbols and symbolic actions. The priests ask the Sky-god to aid them, and he answers in a symbolic way for himself and his followers, the ancients of clans.

The representation of the departure of the clan-ancients is not less dramatic than that of their advent; in it they are conducted or led away by a personage with symbols which are characteristic of another god.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE CLAN-ANCIENTS.

The representation of the departure of the clan-ancients, as stated above, occurs in July. Their leader is called Eototo, the germ god, who is ruler of the underworld, back to which habitation he leads the personators of the dead. On his head Eototo wears a closely fitting cloth bag, without decoration, but with simple openings pierced for eyes and mouth. The gorgeous headdress of the Sun-god is absent; in its place he wears a sprig of green tied to the top of this bag. He carries a planting-stick, a symbol of growth, and wears leggings not unlike those of the Sun-god.

The representation of the departure of the clan-ancients occurred at sunrise on the morning following the last day of a nine days' festival, and was performed by four men, three of whom were masked to represent clan-ancients, and one to personate their leader, Eototo.

The performance of these actors, just before leaving the pueblo, was as follows. Each stood at one of the four sides of the kiva entrance, where symbols of rain-clouds had previously been drawn

¹ Prayer-meal in Hopi worship has imparted to it by the worshipper's breath his magic power, thus conveying the wish or desire to the god addressed. Spittle has also a like magic power derived from the man from whom it comes. Hence a rain of spittle from assembled spectators when the personators of the Snake-clan ancients leave the pueblo bearing prayers for rain. In that way magic power is exerted to influence the personation. As breath, spittle, or tobacco smoke conveys magic power from the man, so anything taken into his mouth increases his own power of magic, hence crystals of quartz or other stones used in preparation of medicine are often sucked at the close of the rite by the priests to obtain this magic power.

with meal on the ground, which the masked men faced, looking down the hatchway.

A man stood on a ladder so that the top of his head protruded out of the entrance into the chamber below, and from this position threw pinches of meal outside, making several attempts to strike with it the garments of Eototo, who, when he saw the meal, laid on the symbol of the rain-cloud before him a black stick and a small annulet made of leaves.

These were so placed as to be beyond the reach of the man within the room, who again threw pinches of meal at Eototo. In response, the latter raised the two objects and moved them nearer the entrance. Again prayer-meal was thrown out of the room at the god, who again raised the two objects,¹ and advanced them within reach of the man who carried them into the room below.

The chief in the kiva cast meal at the three other masked men representing clan-ancients, and received from them similar black sticks and annulets, after which all marched around the hatchway of the kiva, returning to their former position.

The chief then cast meal at Eototo and his three companions, this time praying for rain, and they in turn poured water into a bowl held at the four sides of the kiva entrance. This prayer was followed by others for food, in response to which small imitation cakes were thrown into the room.

These performances are interpreted as follows: They represent prayers and answers to the same by signatures. The meal carries the wish of the priest, the sticks and annulets symbolize growth of crops; the water poured into the bowl typifies falling rain; and the miniature cakes, food.

The final act in the departure of the clan-ancients and their leader was as follows: The chief having emerged from the room, led the procession from the plaza to their symbolic home, a shrine to the west of the town, all the spectators casting meal (praying) towards the masked men as they passed out of the town. They went down the west trail, because the entrance to the underworld, the home of the beings personated, is situated in the west where the sun sets.² The masked men, having deposited their prayer emblems in this shrine, disrobed, for they then ceased to personate the gods, as

¹ These symbols, the black stick and the annulet, represent the sexes, male and female. Similar black sticks are placed on the pictures of zigzag form representing the male lightning, and small annulets on those representing the female in the sand mosaic of the snake-dance at Walpi. Flute-girls carry similar annulets, and the Flute-boy objects representing the black sticks, which they throw on the rain-cloud pictures as they march in procession from the sacred spring to the pueblos.

² For details in this dramatization, see *Jour. Ethn. and Arch.*, vol. ii.

the dramatization had ended. We are especially concerned with the identity of Eototo. What god does he represent?

The conductor of the clan-ancients from the pueblo, in this annual celebration of their departure, has symbolic resemblances to a being called Masauû, who is often personated as the ruler of the realm of the dead and god of fire; but Masauû, like Eototo, sometimes plays the rôle of Germ-god, as described in the pages which immediately follow.

MASAUÛ, A GERM-GOD.¹

Many personations of Masauû have been witnessed by the author, but in most of these he is represented as a god of death or fire. A ceremony in which he appears in the rôle of a planting-god was witnessed on one of the nights of the great Powamû festival, in the month of February, 1900. He is at all times much feared and revered, and on the night in which he was personated there was a profound hush in all the pueblos on the East Mesa. Few men and no women or children at that time ventured out of doors, and all said that it was an occasion of great solemnity to them when this god was personated in their kivas, an event not celebrated every year. On the night of this performance, the author groped his way through the darkened pueblo to the Tcivato-kiva, where he found the leading men of the pueblos seated in a circle about the fireplace, and was strongly urged by them to smoke. On many occasions he has been invited to join the circle of smokers at the beginning of a ceremony, but on this eventful evening the invitation was urgent; he was almost commanded to do so, and it was distinctly stated that every one who is a witness of the personation of the "old god"² must not omit the preliminary formal smoke.

Seated with the chiefs around the fireplace, it was noted that many other men besides the chiefs were in the room busily occupied in decorating their bodies, painting their cheeks with daubs of white kaolin, and tying yucca fibre on their legs. These men later personated the so-called Maswik Katcinas, a kind of escort accompanying Masauû from place to place. Although they wore no distinctive masks or other paraphernalia, they were said to represent both male and female Katcinas. They constituted a chorus, performing dances and singing excellent songs, which reminded the author of those sung in the Snake ceremonies at Walpi. When these men were ready they stood in line on three sides of the kiva, singing and

¹ Masauû and Eototo are different clan names of the same god. This ceremony is described to show the former as a Germ-god.

² The term "old god" is significant. He is in fact the oldest god, the father of lesser gods and men.

dancing, as Moume came down the ladder bringing the mask of Massauû, which with reverence he laid back of the fireplace within the circle of the chiefs. In general appearance this object resembled a large human skull, but on nearer inspection it was found to be a hollow gourd rudely painted, punctured with round holes for eyes and mouth. The edge of the orifice, through which the head was inserted, was notched, and the gourd had been broken and repaired in several places. It had no decorations or appendages, but its surface was daubed with black paint.

When it had been put on the floor before the fireplace the chiefs solemnly smoked, reverentially taking it in their hands in turn, and puffing great clouds of smoke over it. They also prayed very fervently, in sequence, addressing their prayers in all instances directly to the object. In the same bundle with the mask, Moume brought also two basket plaques, two planting-sticks, and two old blankets, all of which he laid on the floor in front of the fireplace.

These objects having been deposited on the floor and the fervent prayers to the mask having ceased, Sakwistiwa proceeded to paint the latter by squirting upon it from his mouth a pigment made of ground black shale mixed with spittle, sprinkling also upon it a little glistening iron oxide. No other color and no feathers were added to this archaic object; but while it was being painted all sang a fine solemn song. Each of the Maswik Katcinas then laid a feathered string in one of the basket trays on the floor near the gourd, as his personal prayer for benefits desired, and then all filed out of the room. At their departure the man who was to personate Masauû put the gourd on his head, and prepared for the rites which occur in the other kivas. The subsequent events took place in the Moñ-kiva, and were repeated in all the secret rooms in Walpi on the same night. Pautiwa, chief of the warrior society, personated Masauû, and was assisted in preparation by Sakwistiwa, who tied a yucca fibre garter on his legs, and adjusted the gourd to his head. In a few moments he was ready to join the escort which had preceded him. On leaving the room, where he had witnessed the events mentioned, the author went to the Moñ-kiva, and found the chorus huddled around the entrance wrapped in their blankets, for it was bitter cold, waiting for the coming of Masauû. Many people had gathered in the chamber below to witness the advent of the god; all the spectators sitting on the raised floor of the room, north and east of the ladder, but the chiefs squatted by the fireplace, in which sputtered a flickering flame of greasewood.

Soon after the author descended into the room the chorus began to file down the ladder and arrange themselves in line on the three sides of the kiva. As each of these personages entered, Naka, the

Katcina chief, dropped on his left shoulder a pinch of meal, symbol of a prayer. The last man of the line asked, as he stepped from the rung of the ladder upon the floor, if they were welcome, and all present responded that they were. It was observed that they bore many cow-bells, which they immediately began to rattle, at the same time dancing a solemn step. In the midst of this dance the personator of Masauû came down the ladder, as one would stairs, not as ordinarily, facing the ladder, and without a word slipped behind the row of dancers passing to the back of the room, ultimately making his way between two of the chorus to the space near the fireplace. He was followed by an unmasked man who had black marks painted on his cheeks, and carried a planting-stick in his hand. This man sat by the side of Masauû and imitated his actions, but his true function seemed to be to guide his comrade in the dark from one place to another.

Masauû facing the fireplace assumed the posture of a man planting. He held a planting-dibble and a basket-tray in his hands, while over his shoulders was thrown an old blanket. Yucca fibre garters were tied on his legs, and he was barefoot. The most striking object in his appearance was the old glistening gourd, painted black. Nothing was said by any one as the two personators took their position, but continued the song and dance, which began before they came. Finally they ceased and the chorus filed out, each saying, "good-night" as he left the room, but the last of their number, who carried a bundle on his back, announced that at planting a few months hence there would be a more extended dramatization of the god at a place called Maski, the home of Masauû, near the trail to the Middle Mesa. This ceremony, thus formally announced, was later performed, but the author was unable to witness it on account of his absence from the pueblo.

After the departure of the chorus, the two figures remained seated, and all the men, preceded by their chiefs, pressed forward with their feather emblems, each in turn saying his prayer to the masked being, and depositing his feather in the basket plaque. Masauû made no response to these appeals, which were in a low voice, inaudible to any but the god, and soon went out, followed by his companion. Meanwhile the chorus, who has preceded him, awaited his arrival, huddled on the hatch of the adjacent kiva, and subsequently the same ceremony was repeated that night in all the sacred rooms of Walpi, but not in Sitcomovi and Hano. The closing exercises, or those in the last room, took place about midnight.

In the ceremony described above we have a personation of a being not in the rôle of a god of fire or ruler of the underworld, home of the

dead, but of a Germ-god, the same as Eototo,¹ who in the departure festival leads the ancients to their home, the realm of the dead.

From what has been written it is evident that there is yearly performed in one Hopi pueblo, and probably in four others, two festivals, or elaborate dramatizations of the arrival and departure of the gods. In the personnel of each there is a masked man their leader, known in the advent drama as the Sun-god ; in the exit, the Germ-god. The shape of the mask of the former, its radiating feathers and horsehair, represents the sun's disk ; the head-covering of the latter, a simple bag or gourd without ornament, a fitting symbol of the underworld. In their objective symbolism these two personations have little in common, and yet theoretically there is good evidence to regard them as variants of the same being, the magic power of the sky, the genitor of men, animals, and plants ; one designated by the mask of the sun ; the other, the ruler of the underworld, home of the ancients, the old Fire-god or Germ-god, male parent of all beings.²

In the preceding pages the author has given what he supposes to be the best preserved dramatizations of the advent of the Sky-god as the Sun-god, and his exit as the Germ-god, performed in February and July. He believes that they are typical, and show the scheme of clan festivals, which were once duplicated by several clans. At present, however, most clans have ceased to observe their festivals *in extenso*, having curtailed them, and in this reduction lost all save the personation and totemic symbols of their ancients and their Sky-god. They still personate their Sky-god, but as a subordinate being, which still preserves enough symbolism to betray its celestial origin.

While there is no other group of clans on the East Mesa which preserve the drama of the advent and departure of the Sky-god in as unmodified a form as the Katsina clan and its relatives, there are others in which enough of the dramatic element exists to show that the same general plan was followed in them. One of these occurs in Sichomovi, a small pueblo of the East Mesa. The dramatization of the advent of the clan-ancients conducted by a Sun or Sky-god, called Pautiwa, takes in that pueblo in January, and is called the Pamüti.

¹ The mask of Eototo is cloth, that of Masauü, gourd ; the material is different, but the symbolism identical.

² The fact that the Hopi regard these two as the same father of all shows their identity. The god of Christianity they call Cotokinufwü, the idol of which is a bird-serpent personation. Those somewhat familiar with the teachings of the missionaries call the Cotokinufi prayer-stick, a "Jesus paho."

PAMÜTI.

The pueblo, Sichomovi, is mainly inhabited by clans of Tiwa¹ and Tanoan extraction, which, however, have long since lost their languages. The predominating clan is called the Asa, which is represented by kindred at Zuñi. The Zuñi kinship of this clan dates to a time when in its migration it lived for many years at that pueblo. So that even now the Zuñis sometimes speak of Sichomovi as a "Zuñi pueblo among the Mokis," on account of the kinship of Asa clans in the two pueblos.

The festival of the Pamüti is a Sichomovi dramatization of the return of clan-ancients, most of which bear Zuñi names, controlled by the Asa clan. In it there appears a personation of the Sky-god whose acts resemble those of the Sun personation already described. While the author reserves a complete description of the Pamüti to another article, he here considers the personation of the Sun-god Pautiwa, which particularly concerns the reader of this article.

In this festival all the participants march into the pueblo in solemn procession from a distant house in the plain, led by this personator of the Sun-god, who, a few days previous to this celebration, had visited all the kivas and houses of the foremost clans, but in a much less formal way than Ahüla, as already described.

Passing from the representation by personations of the advent of totemic ancients of Asa and other clans, we come to a consideration of such clans as no longer celebrate, *in extenso*, festivals of advent and departure of their ancients, although still retaining knowledge of the symbols which characterize their ancients, and, in several instances, their Sun or Sky-god. The festival of such clans, formerly as extensive and elaborate as those above mentioned, has been worn down to a simple dance in which their ancients are represented, but the personator of their Sun-god has become one of many subordinate masked persons in festivals not their own, like Powamû, and Pamüti. The names of these personations have been changed, their identity is practically lost, but their symbolism is not changed, and its design enables us to determine with fair certainty whom they represent, even if name and action give no clue to their identity.

¹ One of the most reliable men of the Asa clan told the author that his clan once lived at Payüпки. If this information be correct the Asa were Tiwan, for the Payüпки people returned to the Rio Grande and were settled at Sandia, a Tiwan pueblo. In Menchero's map (1747) the Hopi Payüпки, on the Middle Mesa, is figured and marked as "Mesa de los Tigüas," thus supporting the discovery made by the author several years ago that Payüпки ruin was peopled by people of a Rio Grande stock, and was not abandoned until after the middle of the eighteenth century. Menchero's map shows that the ruin was inhabited by Tiwa people, not by Tewa.

Superficially they are simply masked men; in reality they are personations of Sun-gods of clans which have died out or lost prominence.

SUN-GOD PERSONATIONS WHICH ARE SIMPLY MASKED DANCERS.

We have seen in the preceding descriptions how Ahûla, Sun-god of the Katcina and Pautiwa, Sun-god of the Asa clan, are personated as leaders in certain representations of the advent of the gods, and we come to consider masked men who play a subordinate rôle, but whose symbolism indicates that they once represented Sun-gods. Among these may be mentioned Wüwüyomo and Wupamow, whose identity, betrayed by their symbolic likeness to Sun-gods, is brought out in the accompanying figures.

WÜWÜYOMO, A SUN-GOD.

The Honani clan at Sichomovi own four masks called Wüwüyomo, which from comparative reasons the author concludes are Sun-masks. Personations in which they are worn have not been seen by him, but so close is their symbolism to that of Ahûla that, notwithstanding their name is different, their identity is beyond question. Some differences between them, as, for instance, in the position¹ of the beak, cannot be regarded as more than clan variation.

WUPAMOW, A SUN-GOD.

In the same way if we compare the mask of the personation called Wupamow (Great-Above-One) with those already described, we detect a morphological similarity in the designs on the face, the feathers about the disk, and the peripheral red horsehair. Wupamow is regarded as a Sun-god of an unknown clan, or a traditional being yearly personated, the identification of which, by its name, is no longer possible. At one time or in some other pueblo it no doubt played quite as important a rôle in the ceremony of the return of the ancients of the clan to which it belonged, as the Sun-god personation of the Katcina clan, but it no longer occupies this position. A reverence amounting to worship still clings to these masks, and they betray their identity to other masks in the similarity of their objective symbols.

THE SKY-GOD REPRESENTED AS A BIRD-MAN.

It is customary for primitive men to represent their gods with objective symbols of mythic animal and human affinities. For obvious reasons the bird is naturally chosen as the characteristic animal of the sky. And when, therefore, in primitive drama, the Sky-god

¹ The beak curves upward instead of downward.

is personated, he naturally takes a bird form, so that the more realistically the drama reflects the zoö-morphic conception the more avian the symbolism of the personator.

There is little, however, in the objective symbolic personations of the Sky-god thus far described to suggest any bird, real or imaginary. To be sure we find the radiating crest of eagle feathers about the head of Ahüla and the curved beak suggesting the eagle, turkey, or hawk, but the general appearance of this personator or its equivalents can hardly be called bird-like. There remain to be considered representations of the Sky-god, and in those clans where the resemblances are more striking or in which the apparel actions of the personator leave no doubt that he imitates a bird. Some of these are related to those already described, but others are only remotely connected with the same, and the festivals in which they occur are widely different from those already considered.

The prominent personages in the festival called Shalako presents an interesting transitional form of Sun-god personation between those already described where the avian character is not apparent, and those which follow when there can be no doubt that the personator represents a bird.

THE SHALAKO, A REPRESENTATION OF SUN-GODS.

This celebrated Zuñi festival¹ is performed on occasions at Sichomovi, and from similarities to Hopi festivals the author supposes it to be a dramatic representation of the return of the Sun-god, accompanied by Eototo, the Germ-god, and followed by their children, the Koyimshe, called grandfathers or clowns. The festival at Sichomovi is derivative, and hence abbreviated, as compared with the elaborate performance at Zuñi, so that it may be necessary to modify the interpretation here given when more is known of the Cibolan performance; the suggestion here offered being the result of studies of the Sichomovi variant, the main events of which were published by the author in a Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for 1897.

Briefly stated the scheme of the Sichomovi Shalako drama is as follows: Four men representing giants, elaborately dressed, bearing on poles artificial heads with bird symbolism, accompanied by a personation of Eototo and followed by many Koyimshi, or masked clowns, march to the mesa top along the Zuñi trail. They represent the Sun and Germ gods, with their children, returning to the pueblos.

They enter the houses of the chiefs, where they receive prayers, in

¹ The giant personators, as well as the festival itself, is called by the same name, Shalako.

reply to which they hang symbolic objects on the rafters, typifying answers to those prayers. In these public ceremonies of the Si-chomovi Shalako, the Earth-Mother, Hahaiwüqti, also takes part, but the meaning of her acts has not been interpreted. In this festival all other performances harmonize with the interpretation suggested, that the four giants represent the Sun-gods of the four solstitial directions, called by the Hopi their cardinal points.¹

WINTER SOLSTICE DRAMATIZATION OF THE ADVENT AND DEPARTURE
OF THE SUN-GOD.

From the type of dramatization and sun personation adopted in the Katcina cultus let us pass to another somewhat different but essentially the same, that of the Rain Cloud and those related clans which came to Tusayan from the south. A similar dramatic representation of the return and departure of the Sky-god or Sun-god occurs here as in the Katcina festivals.

Among these southern clans this being is symbolized by a Bird-Snake personation, who is represented in the kiva at the Winter Solstice ceremony at Walpi. In this drama he appears as a man "made up" to imitate a bird, and the actions he performs symbolizes a bird. The author has elsewhere described in detail the main points of this dramatization of the return of the Bird-Man of the Rain Cloud clans at Walpi and Oraibi, and it is not necessary to repeat that description except to offer the interpretation that the proceedings in which the Bird-Man takes the prominent part are simply dramatizations of the Return of the Sky-God, combined with a pantomimic prayer to this being and responses by signatures.

In more elaborated dramatizations in which the Sky-god of kindred southern clans represent the epiphany of their celestial father we find the Sky-god personated as at Oraibi, by a man wearing a star² on his head and bearing the sun disk in his hand. The star or cross on the head of this personation is a Sky-god symbol which sometimes hangs before altars to represent the same god here personated by a man.

In the public dramatization of the advent and possibly the departure of the Sky-god of these clans we find a considerable variation as compared with that of the Katcina clans already described.

In one variant a masked representation³ of the Sun or Sky-god

¹ The author connects the four world quarter worship and the above and below with the Sun and the clan-anceients, or their animal, plant, and other symbols.

² See Dorsey and Voth's account of the Soyaluñia at Oraibi. The so-called Star-god described by them is a Sky-god.

³ Called Ahülani or Soyal Katcina; the name Katcina is an intrusive one to the extent of a special designation of a supernatural being to one having no connection with the Katcina cultus.

with two maidens, cultus heroine and Earth-goddess, appear in the pueblo of Walpi at sunrise, and in answer to prayers present to the women, heads of all the clans, ears of seed-corn symbolizing abundant harvests. They do not visit the houses and there receive prayers from the chiefs, giving in return sprouts of beans, as does Ahüla in Powamû, but the heads of households come to the personation of the Sky-god, and pray to him, receiving corn-ears in response. The proceedings in both instances have the same symbolic meaning, a sign prayer, and answers to the same.

PERSONATION OF A SKY-GOD WIELDING LIGHTNING.¹

There is an instructive act in the great mystery-play of the Hopi, called the Palülüköñti, which gives an idea of the symbolism of another form of a Sun-god personation, as well as that of the lightning. In this act a masked man representing Shalako stands in the middle of the kiva before the spectators holding an effigy of the Plumed Snake which he causes to coil about his body and head and to dart into the air. The means by which the movement is effected is at first not apparent, but closer examination reveals a false arm hanging at the actor's side in place of his real arm which is inserted in the body of the effigy imparting to it its deceptive movements.

This act represents the Sky-god wielding the lightning; the former represented as Shalako, the latter as the Plumed Snake.

In another episode of this remarkable mystery-play effigies of the Great Serpent are thrust through openings closed by disks with Sun symbols. These effigies are made to knock over a symbolic cornfield. The meaning of this drama is apparent. The serpent effigies represent the lightning and the rains and winds which accompany it. They are made to emerge from the Sun symbols representing the Sky-god, whose servants they are or from whom their power comes. They knock over the hills of corn, representing how the floods and winds destroy the works of the farmer. The final part of this episode is also dramatic and symbolic; a man personating the Earth-goddess Hahaiwüqti, wife of the Sky-god, symbolically prays to the angry serpents, symbols of his power, — in other words, prays to the god to cease afflicting man and destroying the fields of the farmers by means of his agent the lightning. In both these acts the personation of the lightning is controlled by the Sun or Sky-god; the lightning, once regarded an attribute, has become a special personation controlled by the Sky-god.

Now this Great Serpent conception or personation of lightning

¹ "A Theatrical Performance at Walpi," *Proc. Wash. Acad.*, ii. pp. 605-629. This mystery-play, consisting of many acts, is a most instructive example of primitive dramatization.

has powers which naturally grew up in the mind from analogical reasoning. Certain kinds of rain accompany the lightning; therefore, reasons primitive man, one causes the other; the lightning causes rain,¹ or, put in another way, the Great Serpent brings the rain. Hence the Sky-god through his agent is a powerful rain-god, and symbols of the lightning in form of zigzag designs are constant on Hopi rain altars.

IDOL OF THE SKY-GOD WITH LIGHTNING SYMBOLS.

In the personations thus far mentioned the Sky-god is represented by men, but there are several instances when this being is symbolized by an idol or graven figure, which has avian and snake characteristics. One of the best of these is an idol on one of the Flute altars at Oraibi.

This idol bears the name Cotokinuwû, or Sky-heart, and is a rudely carved figure representing an anthropomorphic bird, with zigzag lightning designs down the long, slender legs. The curved horn on the head suggests a bird, and the designs on the wings, rain-cloud symbols. Roughly speaking, we may call this a homologue of the Thunder-bird of northern tribes; the association of bird and great serpent designs suggests the primitive conception of the Sun-god, Quetzalcoatl, before it had become a cultus hero.

In this connection reference should be made to the paraphernalia of a certain priesthood of the Hopi, which is said to have brought to Tusayan the cult of the Plumed Serpent. The author refers to the so-called Kwakwantû, who takes such a prominent part in the New-fire ceremonies at Walpi. These priests, when fully dressed, wear on their heads closely fitting caps with a horn like that of the idol mentioned, decorated with rain-cloud symbols. They wear on their backs a skin tablet representing the Sun-god, and carry in their hands small slats of wood, carved to imitate plumed serpents. They personate ancients of certain clans which came from the far south, and the above mentioned symbols, which they share with the bird-snake god, are totemic signs of their descent.²

CONCLUSIONS.

This fancied connection of sun and serpent no doubt began in symbolism, in which the zigzag paths of serpent and lightning played

¹ The Hopi recognize many different forms of rain which they designate by different names. One of these forms is the torrential rain accompanying lightning.

² Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the helmets worn by the Kwakwantû are called Cotokinuwû, the same name as that of the idol. It is theoretically supposed that the Flute clans, like those from which the Kwakwantû spring originally, came from the same geographical locality, northern Mexico and southern Arizona.

an important rôle. The idea that the lightning was symbolized by a great snake, and was at the same time a manifestation of power of the Sky-god suggested the intimate association of the two, and the compound became the Bird-serpent god that plays such a rôle in the cultus of Old Mexico and Central America. The use of the bird as a symbol for the Sky-god, and the association of lightning with the serpent, naturally led to a combination of these two. The Sun and Great Serpent came to be regarded as intimately connected, as shown in the objective symbols used in the drama above referred to. The serpent represents the lightning, one attribute of the Sky-god, and the bird, another; combined we have the Bird-Serpent, the great Sky-god of those Hopi clans whose ancestors once lived in the "far south."

Instances have been given, in the preceding pages, of a personation, in a realistic way, of the Sky-god and Germ-god, and it has been shown how these personations participate in elaborate dramatic festivals, celebrating the arrival and departure of beings which are worshipped. Certain of these personations have bird and serpent symbols, or a combination of the two is chosen in some cases as the animals symbolic of the Sky-god. To the minds of the Hopi a mythic bird symbolizes better than any other animal certain attributes of the magic of the sky, and the mythic plumed serpent represents the lightning, a great power of the Sky-god. When, therefore, they wish to personate the Sky-power by an animal symbol, they adopt a mythic being with avian and ophidian characteristics.¹

Precisely the same idea of personation and dramatization runs through the use of symbols of the Sun and Sky-god where mere pictures are employed, instead of realistic dramatizations by men or representations by idols. As every altar has one or more such designs upon it, it is not too much to conclude that sky worship is one of the most important elements in the Hopi ritual.

In considering the crude conceptions of the Sky-god, as personated by the Hopi, the question arises, whether these personations have any other status than symbols in the minds of those who perform or witness the dramatizations. If so, do the Hopi now believe that somewhere there is a Sky-god of the same general appearance and like bodily form, but with powers adequate to grant those things for which the Hopi pray? Such questions involve the more comprehensive one, whether myth or ritual was the most ancient expression of the theological sentiment?

The author believes, and the question is largely one of belief, that myth and ritual arose and developed simultaneously; that in early

¹ They regard this mythic being as a worthy representation of the magic power of the sky.

stages the existence of one implied that of the other, but that ritual, which among primitive people is largely made up of personations of supernaturals and dramatizations of their acts, has furnished much of the material from which complicated mythologies have developed. Among many aboriginal peoples of America we find the idea of the epiphany of the Sky-god dramatized, and in this drama a man is dressed and decorated to personate this god. It occurred among several of the cultural races of Mexico and Central America where the advent was accompanied by many elaborate rites. The Mandans had a similar personator in their Sun-dance, and he is found in the ritual of the Natchez. Among the Incas there was an elaborate drama in which the personator of the sun was conspicuous. In all these instances, and others which might be mentioned, this personator leads the minor gods in a representation of their advent.

The lesson taught by the objective symbolism of these personations of the Sky-god is also instructive in a comparative way, for they reflect widespread ideal conception of the nature and form of this god. A composite picture of these various personations reveals a being of bird and human form, bearing lightning and rain designs or symbols of the same import. A similar conception of the nature of the Sky-god is widespread in American Indian mythologies, and among people in similar culture elsewhere. It can be traced historically among classic nations, where it at present survives in fossil forms known to the folk-lorist. The author is tempted to regard it as universal among races in the environment of agricultural culture; nature furnishes like impressions, to which the human mind makes the same response through identical objective symbols.

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